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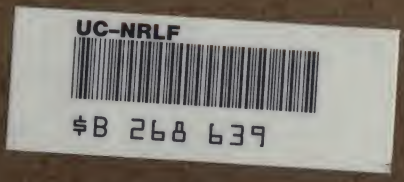

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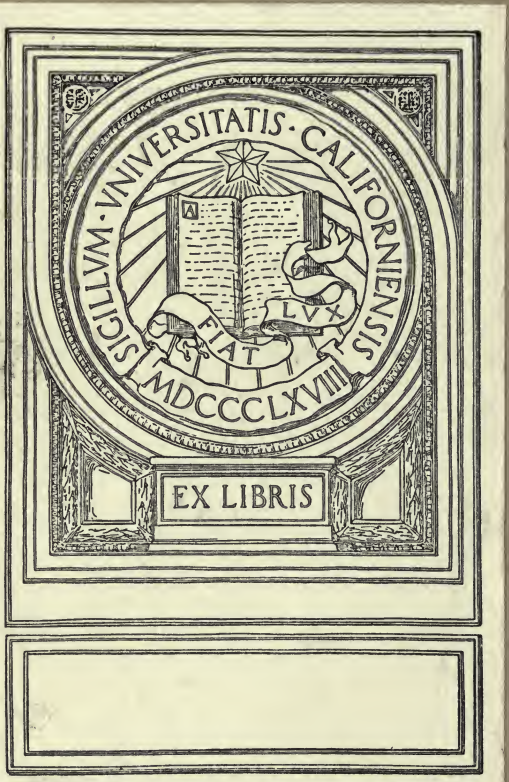
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MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

E. J. SMITH

LONDON
P. S. KING & SON, Ltd.
ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER
1915

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MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE

INFANT
CONSULTATIONS
MUNICIPAL MILK DEPOT

MATERNITY

AND

CHILD WELFARE

A PLEA FOR THE LITTLE ONES

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE BRADFORD SCHEME

BY

E. J. SMITH

CHAIRMAN OF THE HEALTH COMMITTEE OF THE BRADFORD CORPORATION,
AND OF THE BRADFORD INSURANCE COMMITTEE,

Author of "A Yorkshireman Abroad, or Under the Southern Cross"
and "Work Waiting to be done by the Churches"

LONDON
P. S. KING & SON, LTD.
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TO HER WHO HAS BEEN TO ME A FAITHFUL WIFE,
TO OUR CHILDREN A DEVOTED MOTHER,
AND TO THOSE IN NEED A CONSTANT FRIEND,
THIS LITTLE BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

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INTRODUCTION

At no time would it be necessary to apologise for a book which urged the need of a proper care of the Mother and the Child; but at the present time, when the flower of our manhood is engaged in the most stupendous war of the world's history, one may hope that the "plea for the little ones" which is made in these pages will be welcomed as particularly opportune and urgent. Happily there will be found here not merely a plea but a record of "something attempted, something done"; the purpose of the writer being to give some account of the Bradford Municipal Maternity and Child Welfare Scheme as well as to indicate the reasons, economic and ethical, which in his judgment make work of this character of supreme importance to the State. There has been a great social awakening in recent years, and if that phase of it of which the Bradford scheme is perhaps the ripest expression, should be given even the smallest forward impulse by this little book, the writer will be well rewarded.

The subject cannot be more appropriately introduced than by quoting three extracts from a singularly

sympathetic speech delivered in Bradford, on March 15th, by Mr. Herbert Samuel (then President of the Local Government Board), on the occasion of his opening the Maternity Home and inspecting the Child Welfare Scheme :—

> (1) The security of our civilisation depends not only upon its excellence, not only upon the efficiency of our nation, but also on our numbers. It is the mass of a nation, in these days, which tells.
>
> (2) If the present birth-rate were on the same level as it was forty or more years ago, we should have half a million more babies each year than we now actually have.
>
> (3) If you put the two together, the deaths of infants before birth, and the deaths of infants in the first year of life, in many of the districts of our country, such as the three unfavourable wards in Bradford which I have mentioned, one third of our possible new population never survives the first year.

It would be well, before going further, to ask ourselves what these things mean. In the face of what is now going on in Europe the importance of numbers to the nation hardly requires emphasis. The problem of the declining birth-rate is too many-sided to permit of helpful treatment in our present discussion, which is intended to deal with life rather than the absence of it ; but it may be said in passing that the folly indicated by this declining birth-rate for which the middle and artisan classes are largely responsible, must inevitably bring its own retribution. When, for short-sighted, selfish and pleasure-loving reasons, those who possess

ANTE-NATAL CLINIC. WAITING ROOM.

every reasonable qualification for helping to maintain a steady contribution of good, healthy citizens, deliberately adopt the anti-patriotic policy of negation, they impose a progressively increasing penalty not only upon themselves but also upon the nation of which they form a part. Self-imposed childlessness destroys the finest qualities in the men and women concerned as surely as infants—the most helpless and appealing forms of life on earth—bring with them that wondrous transforming dynamic which enriches affection, calls forth joyous self-sacrifice and stimulates the noblest virtues in every home that anticipates and welcomes their coming.

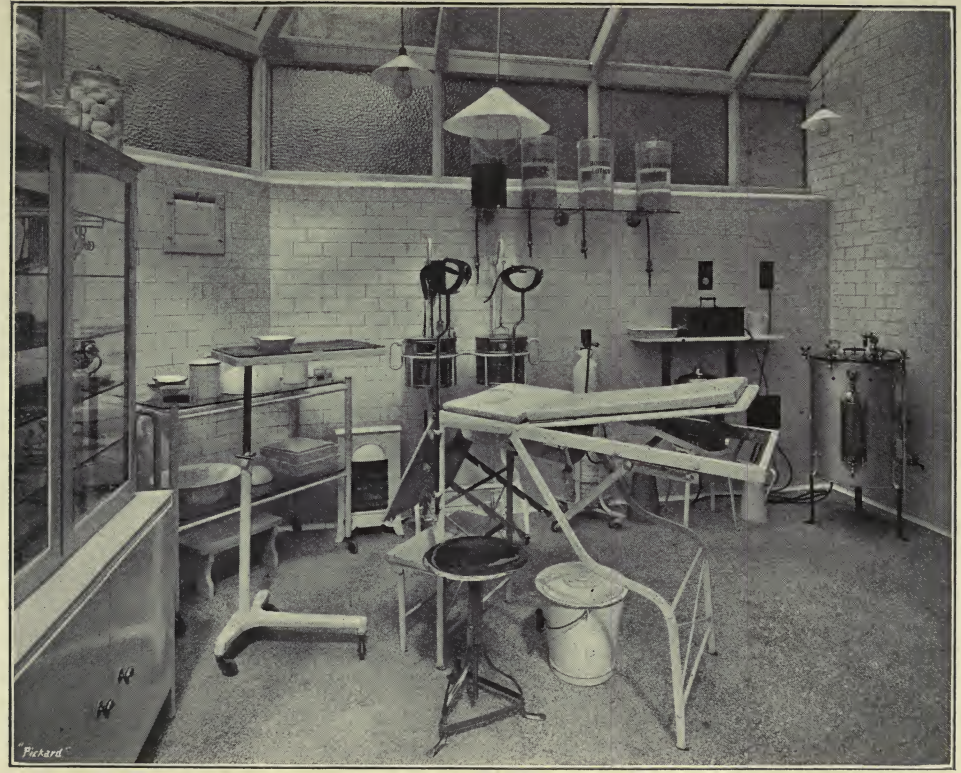
The third quotation from Mr. Samuel's speech is the one that primarily affects us here, however, and when we try to realise its awful significance the question inevitably arises, why in a Christian country is this appalling sacrifice of infant life permitted? The answer is probably twofold. There is a story of a woman with a profligate son to whom a man said, "If that lad was mine I'd kill him." "Yes," replied the sorely troubled mother, "if he was yours I'd kill him, but he's mine." Here, then, is found one part of the answer to the question—ownership makes all the difference. The other part is to be found in the fact that the deaths of these little ones—of whom it may be truthfully said, "your King and country

need you "—occur chiefly in those unknown hinterlands where the strangely docile and inarticulate poor dwell, and being largely out of sight are still more out of mind, except when votes are wanted. But both these reasons for our indifference are thoroughly discreditable. We attend our churches and hear the scathing reproof of Him who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to Me," without even dreaming that it can have anything to do either with us or the subject we are now discussing. The church still preaches and still passes by on the other side, leaving the good Samaritan—who, in these days, has often left the church—to bind up the victim's wounds, minister to his needs and help him on the road to better things. And so the raising of the standard of life takes place rather from necessity than because of any Christian conception of its value.

We are essentially a commercially-minded nation, thinking in terms of "supply and demand," and so long as a sufficient number of people are forthcoming to meet our needs we do not regard it as incumbent upon us to do more than grumble. Such trading instincts are liable to lead us to assume that the supply of human beings, like that of commodities, can always be regulated to meet our demands. But this is a fatal mistake. The steadily falling birth-rate, the constant draining of our vitality through

the emigration of our best blood and sinew (a process certain to be quickened after the war), and the effect upon our future of the loss in war of much of our best and fittest manhood must convince all who give the matter a moment's thought that the nation is in peril and must either have regard to the poorest section of the working classes, on whose virility its existence is increasingly dependent, or let the sacred torch of liberty which our fathers won fall into other hands.

Self-preservation will doubtless drive us to adopt the common-sense course, and so those millions of indispensable but inadequately paid workers who do the necessary drudgery of our complex social and industrial life, and who people the nation while others more favourably circumstanced decline to have children, must be delivered from the wrongs that oppress them. And once we begin seriously to probe the dehumanising problem of poverty, ignorance, and sin, the dawn of a new day will have begun, for we shall never turn back. It has long been notorious that the burdens imposed, not on the criminal classes, but upon the deserving poor, are in inverse ratio to their ability to bear them. Rents are higher in one, two and three-roomed houses—having regard to the accommodation provided and the absence of necessary domestic conveniences—than they are in suburbs; and food is poorer in quality



MATERNITY HOSPITAL. OPERATING THEATRE.

and dearer in price owing to the small quantities in which it has to be purchased. It is in these adverse conditions that housekeeping has to begin for unskilled and unorganised workers such as casual labourers and men who, though in regular employment, cannot earn more than 20s. to 25s. per week ; a sum which, in great industrial centres, however wisely spent, is manifestly insufficient to maintain a wife and family in respectability and comfort. These are the men who reach their maximum wages early and marry young, with the consequent prospect of comparatively large families. As the children increase in number the poverty grows, and various methods have to be resorted to in order to eke out a living. The wife has to go into the factory and leave her children either with aged relatives or in charge of those who have only a pecuniary interest in them, though the little ones sorely need the care that only a mother can give. To be bearing children, working ten hours a day in a mill, and " following " a house and a family is a task that would break the heart of more heroic and capable wives than these poor women would claim to be. As soon as the children thus reared are old enough to work half-time they too are turned into the factory to help to keep the wolf from the door, at the expense and to the detriment of their own physical and mental well-being.

All this pre-supposes good health and regular work, but where untoward circumstances arise—and everything puts a premium upon them—the nation comes to the rescue and subsidises the lucrative industries in which these Britons who "never shall be slaves" are usually employed, by contributing through the Poor Law to their inadequate wages, leaving a labour market offering the cheap and inefficient service which poverty alone can give, and the coming generation stunted in body and in mind. Such conditions inevitably destroy self-respect and breed a class who become the victims of their own folly and of other people's unscrupulous devices. Far too often people of this class begin with forced marriages and no money, and start by mortgaging their earnings for years to come. Everybody preys upon their necessity—the callous employer, the heartless landlord, the wily furniture dealer, the specious clothing-club, the avaricious money-lender, and the agent who tempts them to insure the "little stranger" for a sum which makes its death more profitable than its life. They live and move and have their being on credit, and consequently work for, and belong to, their plunderers, whom they have neither the power nor the will to resist. What a foundation on which to build life! What an environment for innocent and helpless citizens to be born into! The infant

in the poor cradle, let it be remembered, is as fit as the child in the rich one, but while its privileged neighbour is protected and cared for till adolescence is past, the poor child is attacked by adverse circumstances from its very conception, and if it survives it seldom escapes without physical or mental injury. History has often demonstrated how frail a body may contain a great soul, and the man is unborn who knows in which cradle the genius is being rocked, or under what roofs the world's saviours are being reared. It may well be that the retribution imposed upon us for permitting these deplorable conditions to exist is the loss of those who would have delivered us from the very evils we lament. Not more certain is it that men have entertained angels unawares than that they have buried them unawares.

If the war has taught us one lesson more cogent than another, it is the folly of taking short views and the wisdom of looking ahead and preparing for the future. We must not only win the mighty campaign for freedom in which we are engaged and honour our heroes by safeguarding the inheritance they are defending with loving prodigality of life ; we must rise to the greatness of the occasion and hand down that inheritance amplified and enriched by the reforms which this testing-time of the nation has shown to be imperative. How is this task to be accomplished—

MATERNITY HOSPITAL. CORNER OF A WARD.

for our army is composed of the flower of our manhood, and those who will never return and those who will come back disabled for life will constitute a mortgage on the future such as this country has never known? How in the face of such a calamity can we hope to march forward to better things? The one hopeful initial course that seems open to us is to usher in the golden age of public health, when preventable disease shall be prevented, when motherhood shall be raised to a position in keeping with the sacred office it fills, and when infants shall be rescued from the poverty, ignorance and neglect in which they perish, or in which those who survive are disabled as they cross the threshold of life. By entering with redoubled energy upon this redeeming task the slaughter of men abroad will be met by saving those who need not die at home; and just as we realise that every hero is wanted there, we shall know that every child is needed here. There are some things that can be postponed until after the war, but one ventures to hope that public health and education will not be counted among them. Health is cheaper than disease even in war time, prevention more remunerative than cure in a period of unprecedented financial stress. After the war we shall need not only money to pay our debts but men to maintain our homes, to carry on our industries and to weld the Empire into a still

more glorious whole. If there is not too much of the "man with the muck-rake" in us to prevent our exchanging money for life we shall take occasion by the hand, for out of the magnificent comradeship of the trenches, where men of all ranks stand shoulder to shoulder and die side by side for the common cause, and the wonderful spirit of goodwill at home, assuredly a new and nobler England can be raised.

The Bradford Maternity and Child Welfare Scheme, inaugurated on June 17th, 1912, by the taking over of four voluntary institutions known as "Babies' Welcomes," will be best approached in the light of the considerations just reviewed, for unless the human touch runs through all work of this character we cannot hope to modify the perils that await those God-given messengers whose little feet have still to venture along the world's highway. The object of the scheme is not to promote the education but the health of children, but as health is the condition precedent to success in education and in every other activity, it must prove an immense advantage to the education authority to have provided for them a steady stream to children physically fitted to receive and profit by the instruction given in the schools—not to mention the infinitely more important question of the well-being of the child itself and, therefore, of the State. Indeed, the expenditure involved, though large, is

the most remunerative investment that the nation and its local authorities can possibly make. Fortunately circumstances are at last compelling a revaluation of the things that matter, and it is being found that life is more important than the money to which it has so long and wantonly been sacrificed. The public conscience is beginning to realise that if any apology is called for it must be tendered not by those responsible for something being done, but by those who, permitting material gain to over-ride the need for true public spirit and humanitarian enterprises, have allowed the task to become so grave and urgent.

It may be well to enumerate, in the order in which they are dealt with here, the various departments of the Bradford scheme. They are :

Ante-Natal Clinic and Maternity Home.
Infants' Department (Consultations and Hospital) and Milk Depôt.
Meals for Expectant and Nursing Mothers.
Pre-School and Post-School Clinic.
Special Department for the treatment of diseases of the eye, ear, throat and nose in children.

Apart from the cost of food—a question still outstanding—and expenditure on the Milk Depôt, the Local Government Board contributes in the form of grant one-half the cost of administering the scheme, the whole of which, by the way, is controlled by the Health Committee of the Corporation.

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. WAITING ROOM.

Ante-Natal Clinic and Maternity Home

We begin to work out the scheme with the Ante-Natal Clinic in the hope that by ensuring the health of the mother the life of the child may be protected before, as well as after, birth. This clinic consists of a suitable waiting-room and a well-equipped consulting-room, where skilled advice is available on all matters relating to expectant motherhood. Immediately adjoining is the Maternity Home—the first municipal institution of its kind in the kingdom. The equipping and staffing of this institution are thoroughly up-to-date, and there are nine beds, a labour room, and an excellent operating-theatre. The Home is intended primarily for cases where difficulties in labour are anticipated, though it will also be used for dangerous but non-infectious complications arising after birth, and such normal confinements as would otherwise have to take place in houses totally unsuitable for the purpose. It is also the centre from which fully qualified municipal maternity nurses may be engaged, at an inclusive fee of 10s., to attend women

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. UNDRESSING ROOM.

in their own homes. Where it is necessary to call in a doctor his charges are paid by the Corporation. Thus the mother knows the limit of her financial responsibility. Patients entering the Home pay a fee of 10s., with the addition of 1s. a day for residence.

To let a poor woman know that she is cared for and that *her* child is the object of all that medical skill and kindly consideration can give is to bring a new inspiration into her life. It is interesting to see with what gratitude and pride mothers come back to the institution to demonstrate by the actual condition of their children the fidelity with which they have carried out the instructions given and the happy results that have accrued.

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. WEIGHING AND MEASURING.

The Infants' Department and Milk Depôt

The Infants' Department, a new, three-storey building, opened by the Countess of Aberdeen, is at present unique in this country. Its clinic on the first floor consists of waiting, dressing, weighing and recording rooms, doctor's consulting rooms, an isolation room and a dispensary; and the staff includes three whole-time lady doctors, a qualified dispenser, and an adequate number of nurses and assistants. The infant is carefully examined by the doctor on its first visit, and thereafter periodically, which ensures the early detection of any abnormality in development or sign of disease. Special attention is given to the vital question of nutrition, to the instruction of nursing mothers and the investigation and supervision of all factors connected with lactation; and explanations as to the preparation of the food prescribed for bottle-fed babies (accompanied often by demonstrations) occupies a large part of the time of the staff. No attempt has been made to give instruction to mothers in classes, because if the instruction is to be

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. MEDICAL CONSULTATION.

really helpful it must be individual and practical. This is the method adopted at the Consultations, and it has been found to secure the personal interest of the parent with eminently satisfactory results.

The necessary treatment of the infants is undertaken in a room set apart for the purpose, and a very helpful system exists of lending to necessitous mothers such requisite appliances as ear syringes, etc. Drugs are prescribed, if necessary, but the treatment required is found to be very largely dietetic and hygienic. Over 600 babies attend weekly, on the average, and in view of the fact that about half the infants are found on registration to be suffering from some disease or defect (frequently unrecognised by the mother) the necessity of the supervision is obvious. A special effort is made to secure the attendance of infants as soon as possible after birth, and while healthy, for prevention rather than cure is the keynote of the work. Infant ailments are rife, and little lives are lost, not because of innate unfitness or lack of affection on the part of the mother but primarily because of the adverse environment in which both child and mother have too often been born. The Clinic comes to the rescue in these cases. Here the baby is under the care of a physician and nurses who have a thorough knowledge of its history (many of the record cards supply the most complete life-histories of the first year) and who

also know the history of the mother, the home conditions and financial resources. But when the Clinic has done all it can do, more remains to be done. The work *must* be followed up by kindly supervision and instruction in the home itself, and this duty falls to the lot of a singularly capable and sympathetic staff of women health visitors. The purpose of all this is not to destroy home life nor to attempt to find a substitute for parental care, but by well-directed and timely helpfulness to elevate and strengthen these influences.

There are unmistakable proofs of the humanising power of the work. When another little mouth enters a home already poor and the careworn and anxious mother takes her infant to the Clinic, a wonderful thing not infrequently happens. The mother sees fully qualified physicians and well-trained nurses taking an intense interest in the child that circumstances had led her to regard rather as a burden than a blessing, and a revelation enters her life and a new love flows from her heart. If these strangers care for her child, if its well-being really matters to them, it must mean something to her ; and she leaves the building with a treasure she did not bring, and goes down the street a nobler woman.

Situated over the Clinic is the Infants' Hospital (with Open Air Balcony), containing twenty beds,

devoted to the treatment of babies suffering from malnutrition of that severe kind which is frequently complicated by other troubles. No infectious cases are admitted. If the infant is too ill to be treated at the Clinic, or the home is unfit for its proper care, an offer is made to take it inside. The curative results of this method of treatment are wonderful, alike in their completeness and their rapidity, and from the very first have more than justified the novel step of establishing a municipal infants' hospital. Indeed the hospital has already become indispensable to child welfare work, and is growingly appreciated by those who know from actual experience the magnificent service it is rendering to the City.

On the ground floor of the Infants' Department is the Milk Depôt, which supplies a number of public institutions, including the hospital, sanatorium, school feeding centres, and the cooking kitchens in which meals for expectant and nursing mothers are prepared. The demand from these institutions is necessarily subject to considerable fluctuation. As the school feeding centres and those for expectant and nursing mothers are only open on five working days of the week, the milk delivered at the Depôt on Saturdays, Sundays and to a less degree on holidays constitutes a surplus, which is converted on the premises into cream, butter and cheese for the use of such Health Committee

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. TREATMENT ROOM.

institutions as the Fever Hospital, the Sanatorium, Convalescent Home, etc., where, on the average, 500 persons (patients and staff) are boarded daily. Adjoining the Depôt is the Infants' Milk Laboratory, which is attached to the work of the Clinic and Infants' Hospital.

The breast-feeding of all infants, highly desirable as it may be—and its importance is hardly to be over-estimated—cannot, unfortunately, be ensured at present, particularly in cities where child-bearing women have to work in factories. Consequently, if the inevitable bottle-fed babies were not to be abandoned to the perils of inexpert hand-feeding, it was necessary to provide for them a food as suitable as medical science could suggest. For each bottle-fed infant, therefore, the medical staff prescribe the food adapted to its individual needs, and the prescription is modified from time to time in accordance with requirements. The milk preparations, dispensed in the Milk Laboratory, are sent to the homes in special bottles sealed with aluminium discs, each containing a sufficient supply for one meal. The bottle can be fitted directly with a suitable rubber teat which can easily be cleansed by the mother.

Among the latest developments of the work of the Infants' Department is a scheme for the training and certification not only of probationer nurses in the

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. DISPENSARY.

Hospital, but of student nurses in the institution. The student nurses will undergo a three years' practical and theoretical training in all branches of the department—Clinic, Hospital and Milk Laboratory. This educational aspect of the work could not be overlooked in view of the growing recognition of the fact that the care of infancy forms an important field for specialised work, and is rightly demanding special equipment on the part of those engaged in it.

Speaking of this Infants' Department Mr. Herbert Samuel said :—

> I do not think I have ever seen any institution in any town or any country which struck me in a greater degree as being well-devised, admirably organised, and urgently needed by the population whom it serves.

Before passing to deal with other features of the scheme it is fitting that a tribute should be paid to the enterprising band of social workers who for some time voluntarily conducted the four institutions known as "Babies' Welcomes," and thus, unknowingly perhaps, laid the foundations for the comprehensive structure which has grown up under municipal auspices.

INFANTS' HOSPITAL. WARD.

Feeding of Expectant and Nursing Mothers

While everything possible is done where artificial food is inevitable, the goal ever kept in view is breast feeding. Advice, therefore, has been supplemented by meals, for in many of the poorer homes malnutrition in the mother is the unmistakable cause of failure of the breast-milk secretion. A well-equipped cooking depôt has been established where wholesome and suitable food is prepared on the first five days of each working week and then sent in heat-proof vessels by motor vans to eight feeding centres. The only voluntary work of the complete scheme is seen at these feeding centres, in the actual serving of the meals by members of the Bradford Maternity Care Committee to 500 expectant and nursing mothers daily. The work of serving the meals demands no little self-sacrifice on the part of the Maternity Care Committee, but it is a labour of love willingly undertaken and efficiently discharged. Once a week, after dinner, the health visitor for each of the districts concerned—who is already familiar with the homes, needs, and circumstances—speaks to the women on such subjects as domestic hygiene and simple cookery, but carefully avoids overlapping the advice given in other branches of the work.

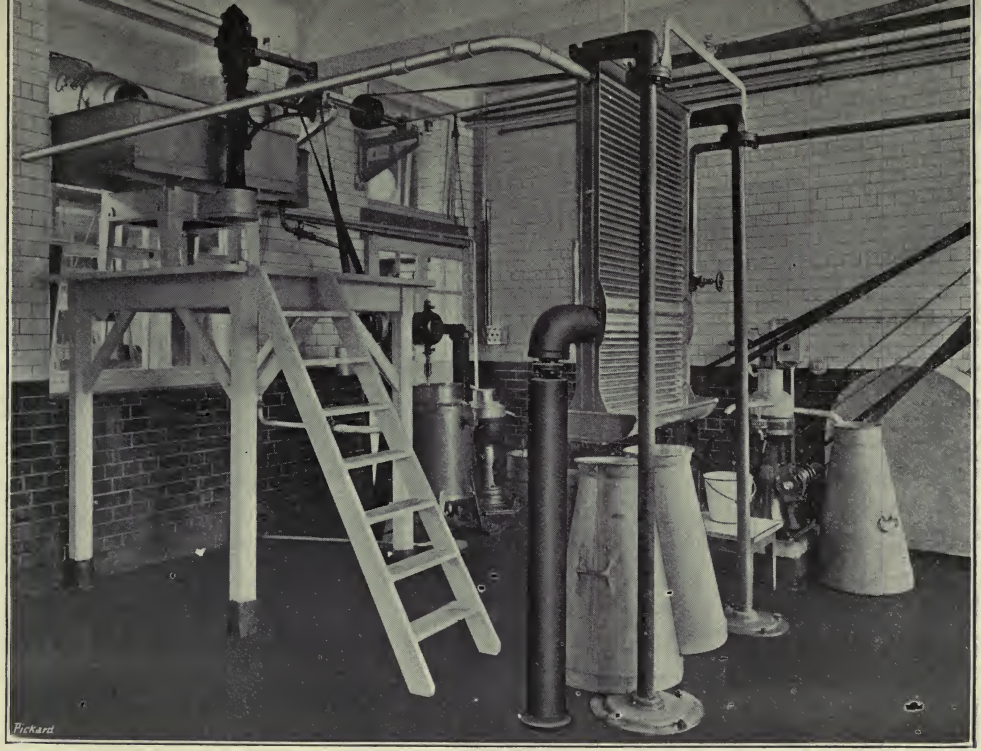
INFANTS' HOSPITAL. BATHROOM.

Every reasonable precaution is taken to prevent abuse where food is given either to mothers or children. The family income is first ascertained, then checked, after which each case entitled to consideration is submitted to a small sub-committee of the Health Committee, who adopted an economic standard before the war of an income not exceeding three shillings per head per week after the rent of the house had been paid. Since the war the standard has been raised to four shillings per head. Where the income is over four shillings per head, but does not exceed four shillings and sixpence, the recipient pays twenty-five per cent. of the cost of the food; where it is over four shillings and sixpence, but does not exceed five shillings, the recipient pays fifty per cent. of the cost. This is of necessity subject to wide discretion, for the economic position of such families is constantly varying and must be periodically reviewed in order that readjustments may be made to meet the ever-changing circumstances. In addition, where the woman is an expectant mother she must visit the ante-natal Clinic for advice, while when she becomes a nursing mother she must take her child regularly to the infant consultations in order that it may be supervised; and both before and after the birth of the child she must take not fewer than four dinners a week at the feeding centre, where registers of

INFANTS' HOSPITAL. OPEN-AIR BALCONY.

attendance are kept. This co-ordinates the scheme, enables the supply of breast milk to be carefully and scientifically observed and the effect of the feeding on the nutrition of the infant to be medically noted. It prevents slackness, keeps the mothers alive to the importance of their task, and gives a serious aspect to the work generally. Apart from the physical benefits accruing to mother and child the dinners have real educational value. The women gradually develop a higher regard for personal cleanliness, tidiness of dress, good manners and thought for others ; qualities which must in turn react upon the homes from which the women come.

It has already been mentioned that the Local Government Board contributes one-half the cost of the administration of the whole scheme, exclusive of the Milk Depôt and of the cost of food, and that the question of meals is a matter still outstanding. In this connection one should point out that the meals are not regarded as food in the general acceptation of that term, for their object is the treatment of the ante-natal or post-natal child by the means nature has provided. Clearly the medium of nourishment is the mother, but a badly-nourished mother can never hope to have a well-nourished infant ; consequently this method of treatment is indispensable to child welfare. Indeed if the meals were served in bottles labelled with Latin



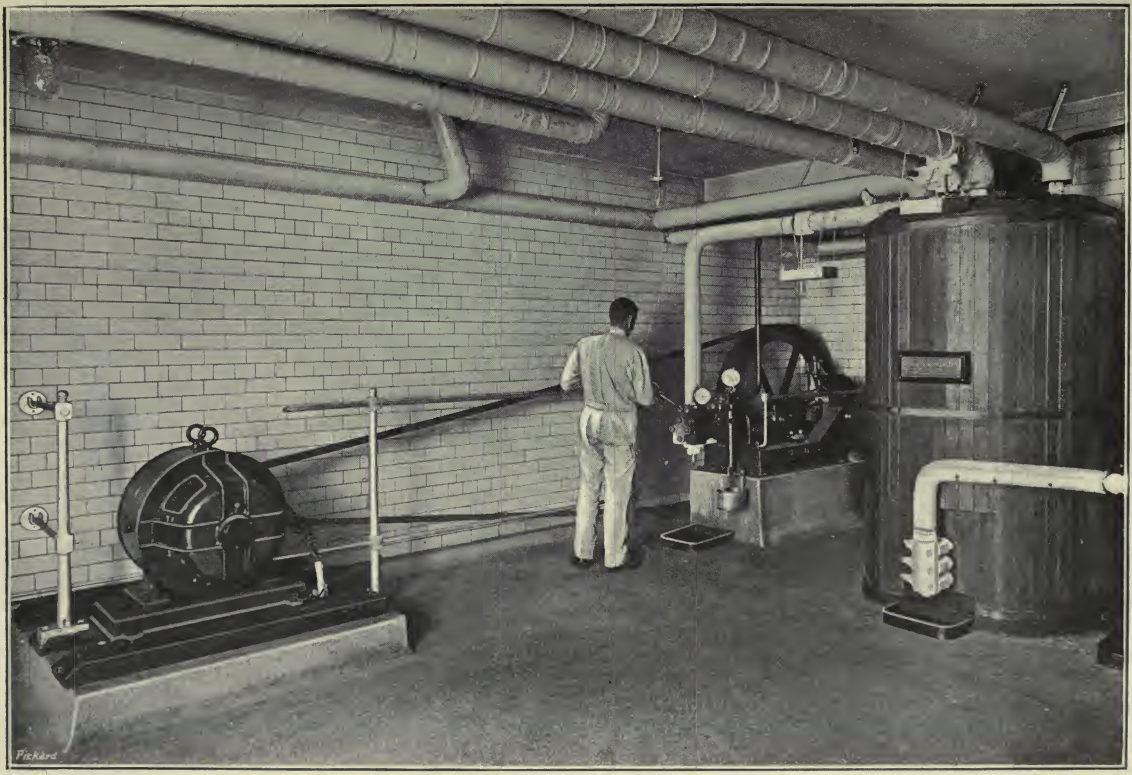
MILK DEPÔT. CLEANING AND COOLING.

inscriptions, instead of on plates, no one would dream of questioning their medicinal value. In the circumstances, wholesome food is the only commonsense treatment that can be prescribed, and it is all to the good that the method of administering it blesses two lives instead of one. Parliament, in the interests of education, has had the moral courage to recognise the wisdom of giving relief necessitated by economic stress. It has legalised the feeding of school children, and the Board of Education has persuaded the Treasury to grant one-half the cost. This being so it is inconceivable that Treasury funds will not be forthcoming to enable the Local Government Board to offer local authorities at least a corresponding contribution towards the cost of meals for poor expectant and nursing mothers and medically prescribed support for children—by far the more hopeful, because preventive, part of maternity and child welfare work. Indeed, few thoughtful people would deny that the Health Committee's claim for grant in respect of these meals rests upon even higher ground than that for which the school meals grant is given. If the Committee were dispensing relief and not treatment every woman in whose home the income fell below the recognised scale would be equally eligible irrespective of the question whether or not she were an expectant or nursing mother; and the fact that the food is

MILK DEPÔT. TESTING LABORATORY.

confined exclusively to this class of women proves in itself the object for which it is given.

To surround hungry mothers with dispensaries instead of kitchens, and to treat children suffering from malnutrition with drugs instead of life-giving food suited to their condition—which is plainly the meaning of the restriction of grants to curative treatment—is to approach the scheme without judgment, imagination or vision. In this connection it will be well to remember that although school meals were legalised before school clinics, it was in consequence of the medical inspection of school children that education authorities throughout the country were gradually compelled to recognise the wisdom of giving school meals. Yet the obsession in favour of curing, rather than preventing, is wonderfully hard to exorcise. How willingly we contribute both taxes and rates to the benevolent purpose of keeping human medicine chests trudging wearily towards the grave; and with what holy horror and worldly apprehension we approach the very thought of our money being spent on food for rearing healthy and helpful citizens. It is true the efficacy of the new method of treatment has already been demonstrated in Bradford, for there are women who before this institution of the meals never had a living child, and others who are now able to suckle their infants for the first time.



MILK DEPÔT. REFRIGERATING PLANT.

But perhaps it is all a mistake—better to have dead bairns than free meals, weakly and artificially-fed infants than strong ones nourished at their mother's breast through the aid of Government grants ? This subtle question of the treatment that ought to be meted out to " other people's " offspring will be best determined when we are fascinated by the cooing of our own ; or when, sitting in our comfortable pews, we hear the children's charter from Him who rebuked his disciples in the old days for the very indifference of which His followers in these newer days are guilty. It was He who made the maternity and child welfare scheme possible when He said—" Suffer little children and forbid them not, to come unto me for of such is the kingdom of Heaven."

MILK DEPÔT. STERILISING CHURNS AND BOTTLE WASHING.

Pre-School Clinic

Hitherto there has been a serious gap between infancy and school age, in which the good results secured during the earlier period have often been undermined if not actually lost. In Bradford this important gulf is being bridged by the Pre-School Clinic (opened by Miss Margaret G. Bondfield, of the Women's Co-operative Guild), where the medical inspection and treatment previously carried out by the Infants' Consultations Department will be continued till the child passes into the care of the Education Committee. Each age period in a child's life has its own peculiar physical conditions and dangers, and it would be folly to attend to the one and ignore the other. Between the ages of one and five years the child begins to develop its special senses and requires the most careful supervision alike from the standpoints of prevention and defect. Undue tax may be put upon an organ delayed in its development; non-notifiable infectious diseases and the serious troubles that often arise from them

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. MILK LABORATORY (No. 1).

have to be provided against; surgical tuberculosis is liable to develop and nutritional disorders to recur. It is for the avoidance of these dangers that the pre-school clinic has been called into being. The staff consists of two doctors, aided by such expert advice as may be required, and four fully-trained nurses. By the work of this department it is hoped to raise the general standard of health of school children, but not to render further supervision unnecessary. School life presents its own special needs which must receive careful attention.

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT.

MILK LABORATORY (No. 2).

Departmental Confusion

In Bradford the Municipality has done much to provide the medical supervision and care which are necessary to ensure the health of children up to school age. But at this point duplication is inevitable until one authority is charged with the whole work. As this matter is one of much importance it will be advantageous before dealing with other departments of the scheme under review to note the anomalies of the existing situation; and as the Bradford circumstances illustrate the national difficulty one may be forgiven for referring to them.

All honour is due to the Board of Education and the Education Committee for initiating the admirable work of school clinics which has paved the way to larger and more perfectly thought-out schemes of child welfare. But the higher we get up the hill of progress the wider becomes our vision, and as nothing is so fatal as to have attained, this is well. The new and broader outlook reveals the defects inherent in the older system, and it must be obvious

MILK DEPÔT.

BUTTER MAKING.

that, under present circumstances, overlapping, inefficiency and waste are inevitable so long as two separate committees are responsible for the medical supervision and treatment of the same children, in the same area, and out of the same purse. It will be equally clear that until these two bodies confine themselves to their respective duties of health and education public well-being must be sacrificed to less desirable ends. If one medical officer is to be responsible for all the work why confer upon him two titles—Medical Officer of Health and School Medical Officer—and allocate the supervision of the duties he is called upon to discharge to two separate Committees ? In Bradford the Health Committee through the Medical Officer of Health control the overwhelming proportion of the medical supervision and treatment of children, and such as remains for the School Clinic would be much more efficiently done if it were transferred to them. Indeed, the wisdom of such a step was so apparent that both the Committees concerned and the City Council unanimously approved of an arrangement whereby the Health Committee were to do the work to the satisfaction of the Education Committee and the Board of Education and be paid the net cost. This commonsense and business-like agreement worked with perfect smoothness and complete success until the Department abruptly terminated

MILK DEPÔT.

CHEESE MAKING.

it; the plea put forward being that though the City Council were the Education Authority they had not the power, owing to administrative and legal difficulties, to manage their own internal affairs to the extent of entering into this mutually desirable and helpful arrangement.

Yet the Health Committee has a small hospital—which will be referred to later—dealing with eye, ear, nose and throat troubles, where 66 per cent. of the patients are school children whose treatment is undertaken on behalf of, and paid for by, the Education Committee. And this with the knowledge and approval of the same Department in London which with typical inconsistency and obvious contradiction, flatly refused to allow the lesser scheme to go forward! The absurdity of the situation will be apparent when it is remembered that the Health Committee are responsible for the sanitation and hygiene of the homes of the school children; that two-thirds of the patients entering the Fever Hospital are school children; that at the Grassington Sanatorium fifty beds are being provided for school children suffering from phthisis, and that at Brierley Hall Sanatorium accommodation is being made for fifty cases of surgical tuberculosis in school children. In addition the Health Committee have brought into being the scheme which includes the Feeding of Expectant and Nursing

MILK DEPÔT.

DAIRY.

Mothers, the Ante-Natal Clinic, the Maternity Home, the Infant Department, the Pre-School Clinic, the Special Hospital, the Post-School Clinic, and a staff of twenty women health visitors whose time is largely absorbed by child welfare work. The one thing that stands outside this comprehensive and otherwise complete scheme is the relatively small undertaking of the School Clinic, which though called into being for education and not for health purposes is essentially a health and not an educational institution. As such it should be handed over to the care of the committee responsible for public health, in order that the medical supervision and treatment of children may be carried on from the ante-natal period to insurance age without interruption, duplication, or loss. Now the local Education Committee propose to build, with the knowledge of the Government Department concerned, what for purposes of convenience is called a residential open-air school —an altogether excellent project, except that it will in reality be a sanatorium where only the smallest amount of education can possibly be given by reason of the fact that all the children will be sick. A large proportion of the children will be either pre-tuberculous or actually tuberculous, a class already provided for by the Health Committee at one or other of the Sanatoria previously referred to.

Another reform Bradford sought to bring about was the abolition of the needless, wasteful, and irritating duplication of inspectorial staffs which no commercial enterprise would ever have allowed to grow up in its midst. The Education Committee has school attendance officers dealing with sickness in children or slackness in parents, and school nurses visiting scholars who are ill; while the Health Committee has health visitors attending to notification of births, tuberculosis, the maternity and child welfare scheme, overcrowding, uncleanliness, etc., and sanitary inspectors supervising housing, sanitation and structural defects. All these four sets of officials are employed by the one authority very largely to visit the same houses, whereas the duties of the first three, being kindred in character, could be discharged more effectively and with less annoyance to the sadly over-inspected people concerned, by one. Were it not for the reasons already mentioned, which prevent good sense and sound judgment from promoting the public weal, nothing more than organising ability and business aptitude are necessary to ensure that sanitary inspectors should concern themselves with structures and health visitors with occupants.

These illustrations are typical of what is going on in other cities and towns, and go far to prove the absence of clear thinking on the one hand, and the

subordination of the public interest to departmental feeling on the other. Surely the line of demarkation is unmistakably clear. Where education is the prime purpose to be served the work should belong to the Education Authorities, and where the ruling motive is health the task should be discharged by the Health Authorities, while the adjustment of the few exceptions to the rule should not surpass the wit of man if good feeling and sound judgment exist to meet them. But it is more than difficult to see by what process of reasoning, however subtle, education can be claimed as the real reason for detaining a child—outside a boarding-school or a residential blind school, where a child's education enters into every duty of its normal life—twenty-four hours a day.

Education has no doubt been far too narrowly interpreted in this country, but that does not justify the strenuous attempts now being made to embrace health problems in its name. Too far east is west. We begun to feed school children not from the broad, humanitarian standpoint of communal responsibility for the health and well-being of the young, but because they were unable " to take advantage of the education provided " for them " by reason of lack of food." Indeed, the nation approaches most of its problems by wonderfully circuitous routes, and nothing short of a European war can induce it to throw off the dead

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT. REAR OF BUILDING.

hand of precedent and make its methods as elastic and adaptable as the people's needs. We muddle through civil affairs, as we are said to muddle through military campaigns, the one consolation being that in spite of our contradictory and extravagant ways of doing things we ultimately reach our goal.

It will of course be clearly understood that in saying this nothing is further from our minds than to deprecate any part of the altogether excellent public health enterprises and institutions which are springing up in the name of education. On the contrary, as the Bradford Maternity and Child Welfare Scheme indicates, we are anxious to see them not only maintained but materially extended. If, however, the best results are to be secured, it will be obvious that the work must be carried on by those who exist strictly and alone for the purpose, and not by authorities called into being quite as definitely for the distinctive task of education, which is important and far-reaching enough to absorb all the energy and enthusiasm that its finest exponents can give.

The pioneer work in both public health and education has been done in large centres, and it may be objected that in small places there is considerable difficulty in securing sufficiently progressive local authorities for the discharge of these newer duties. This must be admitted. But the spirit and tendency of the times

FEEDING OF EXPECTANT AND NURSING MOTHERS. COOKING KITCHEN.

is undoubtedly to obtain efficiency by increasing the size of administrative areas and placing upon the authorities a larger responsibility. The difficulty noted, therefore, is surely receding ; and just as surely there is coming a great national Public Health Department which will galvanise lethargic bodies into activity. Indeed, the logic of events must inevitably pave the way to better things.

> " New occasions teach new duties ;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth ;
> They must upward still and onward
> Who would keep abreast of truth."

Post-School Clinic

We come now to another department of the Bradford Child Welfare scheme—the Post-School Clinic —designed to bridge the gulf between school age and insurance age. The period of 14 to 16 years is one of transition from childhood to youth, from school life to working days, when such physical defects as anæmia, debility, early pulmonary tuberculosis, rheumatism and heart disease are liable to develop. It is a time of trial, when the severe tax of continuous manual labour and comparatively long hours is first encountered, and therefore calls for helpful oversight. By means of the Post-School Clinic it is hoped to form a junction with the medical work in connection with factory employment, street trading and the like, and generally to continue careful supervision and treatment—which will then have been carried on from the ante-natal period without a break.

Special Department

At all ages in child life troubles arise in connection with eye, ear, nose and throat that call for expert treatment, and, as far as may be, rapid cure. To meet this problem an entirely separate department (to which allusion has already been made in passing) has been established at the City Hospital. The Department was formally opened by the Vicar of Bradford, the Rev. F. T. Woods. It consists of waiting-room, consulting room, dispensary, operating theatre, and three wards with twenty beds. This institution, which is believed to be a model of its kind, is under the care of a consulting surgeon, a resident doctor, and an efficient staff. In one of the wards cases of ophthalmia neonatorum are treated, a disease attacking the eyes of the newly born and said to be responsible for 75 per cent. of the cases of congenital blindness. Where indoor treatment is necessary the mother, as well as her child, is admitted, in order that the breast-feeding of the little patient may not be interfered with. So far the enterprise has been eminently

EXPECTANT AND NURSING MOTHERS. FEEDING CENTRE.

successful, and has undoubtedly saved many children from the terrible affliction of blindness from birth. Bradford is believed to be the only municipal authority which has made such provision for dealing with these cases. In the other wards special diseases of the ear, deafness, adenoids, enlarged tonsils, etc., are dealt with, and the treatment often makes all the difference between a dull child and a bright one, a happy life and a miserable existence.

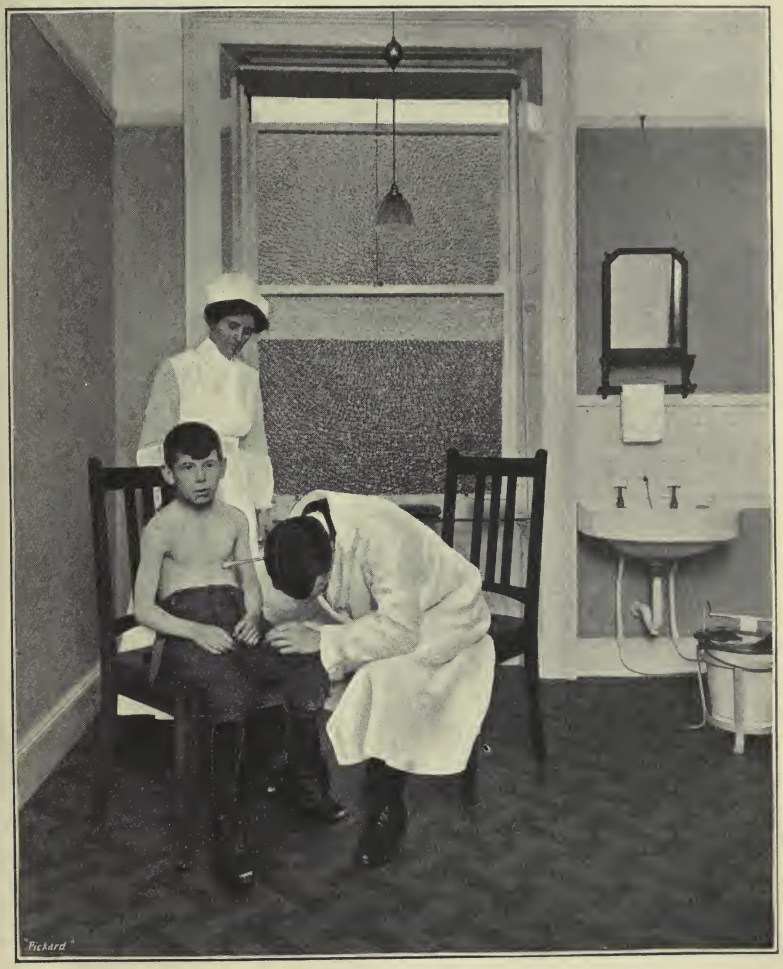
Women Health Visitors

The connecting link between the institutions which have been described and the public they are intended to serve is a staff of twenty women health visitors. To qualify her for the post the health visitor must have not fewer than two certificates in nursing, midwifery, or sanitation. The duty of this staff is to carry out the system of home visitation, including that under the Notification of Births Act (adopted in Bradford early in 1908), and their altogether excellent work consolidates the complete scheme by bringing the homes of the poorer section of the working classes into direct contact with every agency indicated in this limited review. They try to induce mothers to take advantage of the helpful organisations provided and follow up the advice given at the respective centres with that constant, cheery, and sympathetic oversight without which these sadly overburdened women would far more often grow weary in well-doing. We do well to remember that those who have to bring up a family and discharge every domestic duty from the cradle to the grave (except sleeping—and at times even that) in a single room amid soul-destroying surroundings, are tremendously handicapped in the struggle towards better things.

Married Women in Factories

In Bradford there are over 11,000 married women —apart from widows—engaged in occupations outside their homes. The large majority of them are employed in factories. In view of the altogether exceptional enterprise that the municipality is exhibiting in the promotion of child welfare and the gravely prejudicial effect that mill work has upon the offspring of child-bearing women, it is felt that the precarious little lives upon which both industry and the nation depend are entitled to far more consideration from factory owners than has hitherto been extended to them. In an ideal State a wage-earning mother would be an anomaly, and one cannot help feeling that those who seek to justify the employment of married women in factories plead for the labour of to-day rather than the life of to-morrow. On March 31st, 1915, the Health Committee passed the following resolution, which was confirmed by the City Council on April 13th :—

> That the Parliamentary Sub-Committee be recommended to include in the next Bill to be promoted in Parliament by the Corporation Clauses providing :—



CHILDREN'S CLINIC. MEDICAL CONSULTATION.

(1) That a married woman who is the mother of a child or children under the age of three years shall not be employed in any textile factory in the City unless the owner or occupier thereof makes arrangements to the satisfaction of the Corporation for the care of such children during the period of such employment.

(2) That the Corporation may make regulations with respect to such arrangements.

(3) For the conferring on the owner or occupier of a textile factory and the employee of a right of appeal to the Local Government Board against the decision of the Corporation in any case.

If industry is to come before child welfare—which at present undoubtedly it does—and deprive the infant of its mother, it is not unreasonable to ask industry to take care of the baby while the mother is taking care of industry. This can best be done by providing suitable accommodation—preferably on the factory premises—and putting it in charge of a qualified nurse, with such assistance as circumstances may indicate, the Corporation supplying medical supervision free of charge. As the breast secretion of milk inevitably fails when intervals of twelve hours intervene between one feed and another, such an arrangement, by enabling mothers to suckle their children during meal times, would ensure the continuity of that provision which nature intended for the major part of infancy. The advantages to be derived from such a result will be readily appreciated

CHILDREN'S CLINIC. TREATMENT ROOM.

when its effect on child life is considered. At St. Helens in 1911 the mortality rate of artificially fed babies was $5\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that amongst breast-fed children, and during epidemics of infant diarrhœa at Liverpool, Birmingham, and in Bradford the deaths of hand-fed babies have been from 15 to 20 times greater than amongst infants fed naturally at their mother's breast. The terrible sacrifice of child life indicated by these figures must be of moment even to factory owners if only from the economic point of view, for in the light of the falling birth-rate, which the war must emphasise, it will be clear that unless we begin to take a definite and sustained interest in the children, industry, as at present carried on, threatens to be our undoing. The war is proving that it is life that counts, and the nation is slowly but surely beginning to realise its obligation to the child. What contribution is industry prepared to make to the children on whose welfare its future so seriously depends ?

Before leaving this subject one might point out that the Board of Education are willing to make grants both to local authorities and to voluntary agencies which conduct creches. That being so they might be willing to make grants in support of creches established in mills.

Conclusion

In its broad outlines we have now explained the Bradford scheme. An essential feature of the scheme is the careful compilation of records which will be available for guidance as the child in its progress goes from one department to another. At the same time the records will provide singularly illuminating and suggestive data for future action.

The evils to be combated, it must be remembered, are too deep-seated and far-reaching to justify impatience in regard to results. The lower the mortality tables fall the more difficult it becomes to reduce them. When the work has had a fair chance the average infantile death-rate may reasonably be expected to bear witness to what is being done, but those who assume that child welfare schemes are to be judged strictly and alone by mortality tables have never grasped their meaning. The purpose of such schemes is as much to reduce the terrible damage and disablement rate of those who survive as to stop the needless loss of life. Thus the results accruing from much of the

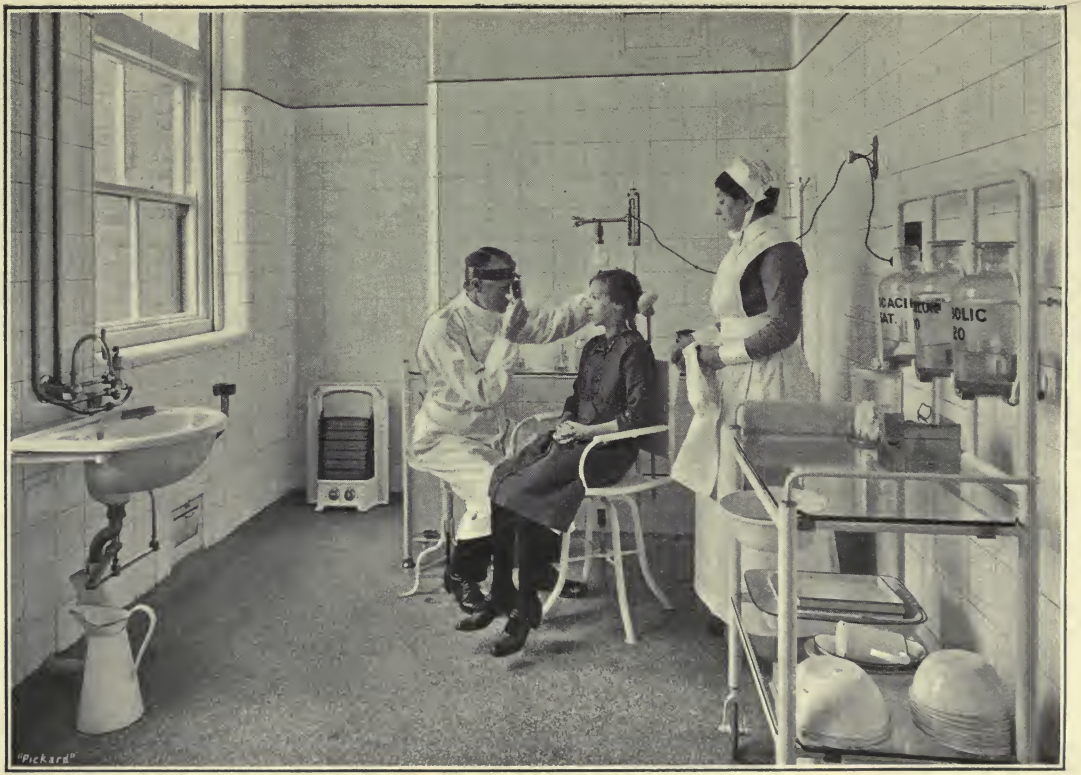
work can never be tabulated, though no one who cares for the little ones would question their supreme importance. The general mortality tables are all the time running against us, for a falling birth-rate means a progressively increasing number of older people and correspondingly more deaths. Consequently the actual records of the respective branches of the work will be the most reliable index of the success of the scheme. The effect upon the mortality tables will be negative rather than positive, arresting their progress more than seriously reducing the figures.

While, therefore, we do well to be optimistic—and no one who actually knows the work can be otherwise—we must avoid unreasonable expectations. Mortality tables do not show everything. It would be easy, for instance, for the critic to turn up the mortality tables and, so far as the infantile death-rate is concerned, make a comparison of the figures which would not appear favourable to Bradford. That would demonstrate, rightly understood, not the failure of the special efforts which are being made in Bradford to cope with infantile mortality, but the magnitude of the need. Infant mortality is in the main a sociological problem. Where, as in Bradford, an abnormal number of women are employed in factories bad "mothering" is inevitable, because in a large proportion of cases the breast-feeding of infants ceases

CHILDREN'S SPECIAL HOSPITAL. WAITING ROOM.

and children suffer otherwise from the absence of the mothers at the mill. To compare the rate of infantile mortality in such a city with that of a centre in which there is little or no employment of married women except in charing and kindred occupations is certainly of no value as an indication of the success or otherwise of the Child Welfare Scheme. All that such a comparison proves is the importance of the sociological factor. But the Child Welfare Scheme cannot alter the economic and industrial conditions. It must take them as they are and mitigate their unfortunate effects to the utmost of its power.

In the terrible conflict that is now going on the War Office has been compelled to adopt remedies as drastic as the difficulties are great. If such steps are necessary and justifiable to enable our army more effectively to destroy life abroad, is it unreasonable to urge that equally exceptional measures should be employed to preserve life at home? Surely the way to abolish prisons, workhouses, hospitals, and asylums —parasitic monuments of neglected childhood—is to produce a race that has no need for them; and the most hopeful method of doing so is to begin with the ante-natal child and follow it step by step until it is thoroughly equipped with a healthy body and a sound mind. The money, consideration, and skill unquestioningly contributed for the care of those



CHILDREN'S SPECIAL HOSPITAL. MEDICAL CONSULTATION.

who have been allowed to grow up without either of these advantages would go far to prevent the evils we so lavishly and ineffectively endeavour to cure.

But the problem is many-sided, and other reforms are needed before the child can be delivered from bondage. Amongst the most urgent is that of regular employment rewarded by adequate wages, so that the poorer classes may be lifted from dependence to independence; a material reduction of drinking facilities, so that demoralising ways may be superseded by good habits; and the ending of the accursed hire system or instalment plan—which should be abolished by Act of Parliament—so that homes may replace furnished houses even though this involve somewhat later marriages. Thanks to the national conscience the class of man most directly concerned in this tangled web is finding that in the King's Army he is better fed, better clothed, and, generally speaking, better housed than when engaged in productive occupations, while his wife and family enjoy the advantages which a regular and higher income brings. When the forces are disbanded he will not willingly go back to the old conditions. The richest country in the world ought not to allow him to do so, for even trade cannot prosper by keeping its customers poor, and every successful attempt to promote a more equitable distribution of wealth has proved

a national blessing. We put a premium on disease and death by compelling men with small incomes and large families to live in little, insanitary, ill-lighted dwellings where children and parents have to sleep in the same room and where even common decency, let alone virtuous modesty, is not possible. But until casual and unskilled labour is more adequately rewarded, either this lamentable condition of things or the pernicious alternative of subsidising is inevitable, for houses containing bath, hot and cold water, and w.c.—reasonable and necessary conveniences—can no longer be built and let at economic rents consistent with the present rate of wages.

The charge now brought against drink is that it interferes with the manufacture of armaments and munitions, thus prolonging the war and increasing the death-roll of our brave men at the front. It has taken a European disaster to bring home to us the effect of this terrible evil upon our industrial resources. What will it require to convince us that the additions which drink has made to the death-roll at home have for generations been such as to make those abroad pale into insignificance? Why do licensing magistrates permit the temptation to be greatest where the power to resist it is least? Why do we not begin by demanding that the victims of the drink evil shall have a chance, instead of first accusing them of drunken habits and

then hauling them before the Bench ? Do we know how these people exist—for they cannot be said to live ? Nay, do we really care to the extent of making sacrifices for their uplift ? Before some of the most dangerous pitfalls of poverty can be removed there must be a drastic curtailment of the drink traffic of both public-houses and clubs. As neither of the great political parties seems to have sufficient moral courage to grapple with the problem of clubs, the existence of a Coalition Government would seem to provide the one thing needful to the successful handling of the question. Such a Government *could* safely legislate on the club problem if it *would.*

In furniture shop windows may be seen the following announcement: "You get married and we will do the rest," and on the strength of it young and simple people begin life with the millstone of the damnable hire system round their necks, and with the equivalent of two regular rents to pay out of one inadequate and precarious wage—one rent to the landlord who owns the house, the other to the man who owns the furniture. If the weekly payments are not maintained the man who owns the furniture fetches it back, leaving his dupes without either home or money.

It is by putting together facts like these, and all that they stand for in actual experience, that one begins to get a glimpse into the maze of

CHILDREN'S SPECIAL HOSPITAL. OPERATING THEATRE.

entanglements that surrounds the people it is our duty to redeem. Out of such hopeless conditions mean and sordid views of life are bound to grow and flourish and promote that grovelling spirit which leads many parents to regard their children as marketable commodities whose labour can be exchanged for money the moment half-time age arrives. Thus the child's future is mortgaged like that of its parents, and instead of the next generation living, as it should do, on the present, such people anticipate their children's future and live on it. It cannot be wondered at if women find work in factories more congenial than the mothering of their offspring in furnished houses owned by that "public benefactor" who has induced them to get married by the specious promise that "he will do the rest." Those who are prone to demand character and good conduct amongst such folks are singularly liable to presuppose conditions favourable to their growth; but the poor, besieged by dominating adverse influences, cannot be expected to maintain and strengthen virtue unless they are reinforced by a Power outside of and greater than their own. Human helpfulness and the divine dynamic are alike indispensable if they are to be delivered from a bondage which destroys hope, outlook and vision.

If work of the character outlined in these pages is to be really helpful those who have charge of it

CHILDREN'S SPECIAL HOSPITAL. OPHTHALMIA WARD.

will need to be fortified by broad minds, large hearts and unwavering faith, combined with a sympathetic attitude to the people themselves and an intimate knowledge of the ugly conditions with which they are surrounded. Repressive measures are fatal to success and beget a rebellious disposition. That fine optimistic spirit of comradeship, brotherhood and goodwill, which has risen Phœnix-like out of the war, must not be allowed to evaporate, but must be turned upon this vital problem of babies' coffins, open graves, and damaged childhood. The solution of the problem will involve not only the removal of social and economic error, but the eradication of ignorance and sin; for the two sets of forces have acted and reacted upon each other until they have become merged in one inextricable mass. And the fact must never be lost sight of that in the last analysis the social problem is one of personal character. Social and economic readjustments will make sound personal character much more feasible, but they cannot create it. Character must ultimately come from within. It can never be attached from without.

Consequently in the great uplift that is coming Parliament and public health authorities must not be left to storm the strongholds of human error and material wrong alone, but must be supported by every moral and religious agency; for abstract faith

HEALTH VISITORS.

GENERAL OFFICE.

is on its trial and must either be reduced to concrete practice or die. We have been content to allow these brutal conditions to oppress the deserving poor so long as the victims did not become a menace to our profit or comfort; and so the responsibility lies at our own door and cannot be delegated to others. The blood of these people is upon our heads and we must either deliver them or increase our guilt. If God has any children these are His; if there is good in all men there must be some in these. Nay, it is common knowledge that one of the miracles of poverty is the extraordinary kindness and consideration of the poor for each other. Their hearts are sound, mother love is strong, and if Christian men and women believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, they will come out of their churches and learn at first hand how the poor live. Once they have learned this by actual contact with the derelict conditions to which such people are consigned every day, every week, every month, every year of their lives, they will be compelled to recognise not only the weakness, but also the worth of these less fortunate brothers and sisters; and they will go and win them for God, that the new man and the new Kingdom may come together —for neither can exist alone. The opportunity constitutes the obligation.

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